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Hunter, Osborne

Labor versus capital

[S.l.]

[1886]

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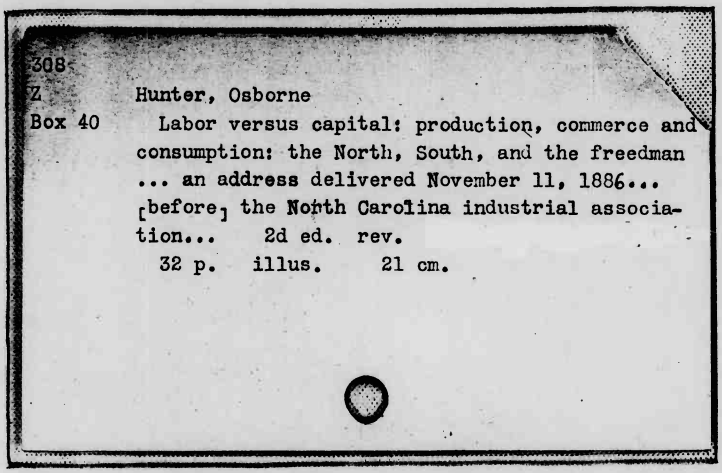
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2D EDITION (REVISED).

# Labor *versus* Capital,

# Production, Commerce, AND CONSUMPTION.

# NORTH, SOUTH, AND The Freedman

## The Relative Position of Each to that of the Other.

Historical Sketch of the agricultural and manufacturing industries in the United States.

A Review of the Old and New Systems of Labor in the South.

An address delivered, November 11, 1886, on the occasion of the Eigth Annual Exhibition of the North Carolina Industrial Association.

BY OSBORNE HUNTER JR.,

LOCK BOX 225. WASHINGTON, D. C.

Author of "What Next?"

# NORTH CAROLINA

# INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION.

## SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

JOHN S. LEARY, President. GEO. T. WASSOM, Secretary.
WM. W. ARRINGTON, Vice-Presi. WARREN C. COLEMAN, Trs.

RALEIGH, N. C., *September 1st*, 1886.

DEAR SIR: By a unanimous vote of the Executive Committee of the N. C. Industrial Association I have been directed to extend you an invitation to be present at the Eighth Annual Exposition in the city of Raleigh, November 8th–13th, 1886, and to request that you favor us with an address on Thursday, November 11, touching the inception, history, and possibilities of this enterprise.

I have also to inform you, that the subject of a great National Industrial Association, with a view to opening a National Exposition of the Industries and progress of the colored race, at such future time and place as may be agreed upon will be considered and respectfully request for publication; in the meanwhile, your views touching such an effort.

You are so familiar with the good accomplished in this State through this medium, that it is needless to do more than direct your attention to the fact, that a wider sphere is now contemplated. Hoping to have your favorable reply by an early date,

I am very truly yours,

GEO. T. WASSOM.

*Secretary, &c.*

To O. HUNTER, JR., ESQ,
*Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September* 6, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your kind favor of the first instant, apprising me of the fact, that "by a unanimous vote of the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Industrial Association," you were directed to inform me, that I have been invited to attend its Eighth Annual Exposition, and requested to deliver an address on said occasion.

In reply thereto permit me, through you, to tender my sincere thanks to the representatives of the Association, for such marked consideration; and state that I accept their invitation to be present, and agreeable to their request will tell what I know about "the Inception and possibilities of the Enterprise," as suggested—an enterprise peculiar to North Carolinians and in the success of which I am deeply interested. As to your further request, that I state my views with regard to the organization of a Great National Industrial Association, for the purpose of holding an Exposition, by which the world may see the products of our muscle and brain, I beg your indulgence for further time in order to do so.

With best wishes for the success of the next exhibition

I am very truly yours,
OSBORNE HUNTER, JR.

COL. GEO. T. WASSOM,
*Sec'y N. C. In. Asso.*,
Raleigh, N. C.

# "TO BE, OR NOT TO BE?"

## "THAT IS THE QUESTION!"

## WHY NOT?

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

When Xerxes, the Persian King, reached the Pass of Thermopylæ in command of his myriad army, he found it strongly guarded by a thousand men, under the command of Leonidas, one of the Spartan Kings. Being unaccustomed to resistance, he dispatched a peremtory demand for an unconditional surrender of Grecian arms.

The laconic reply of Leonidas was: "Come and take them."

And said the messenger: "I found the Greeks sitting on the wall, combing their hair."

"They are mad!" said Xerxes.

No, replied a Spartan traitor, our people always comb their hair, before a perilous battle. Now fellow citizens, if your strength is in your hair, as was the strength of

Sampson ; and if combing it, is a prerequisite to an engagement, as it was with the Greeks, then you will pardon me for being so inquisitive as to ask: Have you combed your hair to-day ? If not, why not ? We are on the eve of a struggle for existence, as desperate as was the conflict at Thermopylæ. An unconditional surrender of your arms has been demanded. Are you prepared to tell the enemy: " come and take them ? "

To-day the battles of the late war are being fought over in the republic of letters, with more zeal than characterized the fighting which was done on the field, a quarter of a century ago.

To-day the Southern States are undergoing a reconstruction, through our magazines, upon a more enduring basis, than the one upon which was constructed,the frothy legislation in the first decade of our freedom.

The former is a peaceful contension for a niche in history. The latter is a silent revolution, for an adjudication of the vexatious questions of state, unsettled by the arbitrament of the sword. In the midst of this mental conflict, on which side shall we as a race enlist ?

When muscle was required to vindicate our cause, there was no question as to whom we would serve, so clearly were the issues defined. Union *versus* Disunion was the issue first presented. Such was our patriotism then that we profered our service to the Union ; but we were informed that it was not needed.

As the conflict waxed warm, it was evident that neither side had properly estimated the fighting capacity of the other. Every inch of ground was so fiercely contested that, from force of circumstances, another issue was sprung in the midst of the campaign. Slavery *versus* Freedom was the second issue. We offered our service a second time to the Union, and on this occasion, it was greatly needed, and gladly accepted.

Out of a population of 4,000,000, under the band of slavery, 178,895 untrained men took up arms, marched to the front, and risked their lives in defence of the Union.

Labor *versus* Capital is the issue of to-day. On which side shall the race appear ? There is no neutral ground. We must either advance or retreat. A failure to take a stand for either, is direct opposition to both.

Now, brain is required to vindicate our cause in this struggle for existence. How many Freedmen out of a population of 8,000,000 will volunteer take up their pen, and risk their reputation, in defence of their brethren ?

We fought for the Union once, can't we work for ourselves *now* ?

In this conflict the pen is mightier than the sword.

A consideration of these facts, Mr. President, has rendered it impossible for me to confine myself strictly to the subject suggested by your Executive Committee—"*The Inception, History, and Possibilites of the North Carolina Industrial Association.*" Therefore, should I fail to be governed in detail by the scope thus fixed for me, it will be due to an error of the head and not of the heart.

My purpose is to present such facts and figures, as will show our relative position as a race, to the belligerent interests—Labor and Capital—that each of us may, by the light of revealed history, see for ourselves and chose this day whom we will serve, " God or mammon."

My further purpose is to show, that the North Carolina Industrial Association is on the right track.

Commerce is the index of the productive power and industrial resources of a people.

It is a record of human progress in art, science, and literature.

It is better known as trade, traffic, dealing, exchange, barter, and sale.

It is but an interchange of the products of labor.

Commerce is the medium through which the producer reaches the consumer.

For the sake of convenience we might compare the producer to a spring; commerce to the stream which flows from it, and the consumer to the ocean into which the stream empties.

Thus, we have Production as the *head*, or *source*, which supplies human want; Commerce, as the *river* on whose bosom those supplies are conveyed, and Consumption, the *ocean* which demands those supplies.

Production, Commerce, and Consumption then, are the three factors which constitute the greatness of a people. They are the three Graces of human progress.

Supply is the centripetal, and demand is the centrifugal forces which render the existence of this triumverate of interests possible.

All material prosperity is the result of a union between these constituent parts, and their equilibrium depends upon the laws of demand and supply.

Production represents labor; Commerce represents capital, and Consumption represents use.

Labor, Capital, and Use are the beginning, continuance and ending of all human development.

They are the prime factors which constitute individual and national wealth and make life worth the living.

If my premises are correct, then I am safe in making the assertion, that the producer, or laborer, is the author of our comfort and happiness, and as such he is entitled to our first consideration. He fells the sturdy forest, he



wrings from the stubborn soil the golden grain, he unbars the door to that subterranean treasury filled with valuable metals and precious stones. Such are the achievements of the humble producer; and for them there is no station in life, however exalted, but owes him obeisance.

When we think of our past and look at our present life we are bewildered at the marvelous growth of our country.

We are amazed when we think of the wilderness, inhabited by the savage man and the wild beast about a century ago, and now consider how the mountains have been removed or tunneled, the valley filled up, the river bridged, and the railroad connecting county with county and state with state. Then, behold the desert blooming as a rose, the waste place built up, and the whole land flourishing as the green bay tree. It is the most wonderful revolution in the annals of human progress. The question which naturally presents itself is: How was this magic transformation produced?

The answer is, by labor, capital, and use. Labor wrought this miraculous change; capital came to its assistance, and by the formation of a copartnership, use was found for the product of labor. There was an incentive to such an expenditure of labor and investment of capital. High wages and extortionate interests were the inducements offered to industry and enterprise. This has ever been the secret of our success.

In no other country upon the face of this globe has labor been so richly rewarded and capital so highly favored.

Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," ventures to give a reason for these anomalous facts. He insists that the reason why both labor and capital were so profitable during the early history of this country, was because land was so abundant and the price of it so low.

If we should take a retrospective glance at our agricultural industries, we would discover at once that his explanation is at least plausible.

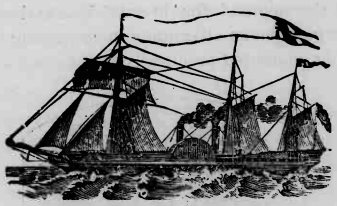
The early settlers of this country purchased from the Indians large tracts of land at nominal prices. The cost of land at that time was the least factor in the accumulation of wealth.

On the other hand, such was the fertility of our virgin soil and so prolific was its yield, that the cost of cultivation was not half so great as now. And as the demand for produce exceeded by far the supply, there was the greatest inducement offered to both labor and capital.

The wages of common labor were so much higher than those of skilled labor that the artisan left the workshop and went to the field.

Capital found no obstacle in the way of an investment, hence the creditor was as eager to enter this new struggle for existence as was the debtor. Thus each was encouraged to redouble every effort, until the increased production exceeded home consumption. By such industry and enterprise a surplus of products was created. It was not difficult to find a use for them. A foreign market awaited their delivery. This surplus gave birth to American commerce, and a merchant marine was the consequence.





MERCHANT MARINE.

It was transported to foreign markets and welcomed at any price. Those exports were a tangible evidence of our productive soil and they advertised the value of our cheap lands. By our exports foreign labor and capital were readily convinced, that the new world was not a fiction but a fact.

Then it was that we reached the threshold of our unparalelled prosperity. It is the period in our colonial history, which lead Bishop Berkley to exclaim :

> " Westward the course of empire takes it's way :
> The first four acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
> Time's noblest offspring is the last."

Emigration set in, and the stream of foreign labor poured upon our eastern shore, and foreign capital in quick succession followed, until our population had grown so large, and the price of land on the seaboard had so increased, that new settlements began to spring up all through the interior.

This triumphant march of progress was somewhat retarded, as a matter of course. by our war for Independence.

But it soon gathered its original momentum and was given impetus by the wars in Europe, which were connected with the French Revolution. Those foreign conflicts

increased the demand for breadstuffs, and as we were neutral, it gave us an advantage in supplying the foreign market that amounted practically to a monopoly.

BREADSTUFFS.

Under these circumstances we retained this superior advantage, until the restoration of peace in 1815.

The mighty armies of Europe which had increased the demand for our supplies were then disbanded; and the military consumer soon became the civic producer.

The soldier who returned from the battle field and went into the corn field, began to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, and did not therefore need so much of ours.

And in addition to this, in order to protect his produce from competition with that of ours, American importation was so restricted as to result in a practical prohibition of our superabundant supplies.

"Othelo's occupation's gone."

It was then that agriculture ceased to be a controling element in the maintenance of high wages and interests.

I could trace the course of operations from that time down to the present and show you how agriculture has



been rendered, the subservient tool of commerce. But suffice it to say, just here, that it has never fully recovered from its defeat.

I am glad to say, however, that the interest in farm life is on the increase, and from present indications agriculture will be accorded at no distant day, that recognition at the hands of this government, to which its dignity gives title—a seat in the Cabinet of this nation.

By reason of our vast increased population a wider field has been opened for the display of our domestic produce, than was once afforded by continental Europe; but increased production has kept so steadily ahead of consumption that there has been little or no margin for profits.

The official report issued by the Bureau of Agriculture for the month of October, 1886, shows, that our corn crop amounts to 1,650,000,000 bushels, and our wheat crop is 100,000,000 bushels more than last year.

Thus you can see that the amount of our annual crop, of these two cereals alone, is so much greater than the amount required for food and other purposes, that profits are reduced to the minimum. Consequently the farmer, especially in this section, barely clears the cost of an average crop, *i. e.* so far as the advantage of a home market is concerned. When his produce goes abroad, it is thrown in competition with the prolific fields of India, the broad acres of Russia and other grain growing countries. Thus the price is kept down to the minimum.

In view of these facts, it is easy to see why the farmer has lost his control over the wages of common labor; why his farm and even his stock and utensels are all mortgaged up to the handle; and why the field-hand is forced to eke out a miserable existence on scanty supplies, in lieu of wages.

When the farmer was able to pay good wages he did

it cheerfully. He willingly shared with the field-hand the profits derived from the products of his labor.

When cotton could be sold for fifty cents per pound, the cotton-chopper and picker could make a great deal more in a day than he can now. And why? Because the farmer in his heart of hearts, gave to the man who did the work, his proportionate share of the profits, derived from the products of his labor. Hence the success of the planter has been the success of the field-hand. The interest of each is so thoroughly identical, that the fortunes and misfortunes of agriculture have a like effect upon both.

I have thus shown, that the cause of our prosperity in every department of human activity in the past, was based upon high wages and large interest; and it is no less the cause of our prosperity now, than it was in the days of our colonial life.

The decrease in the foreign demand for our breadstuffs and increase of our population, rendered it necessary that we should resort to the production of a staple peculiar to our soil and climate, and which would command a sale abroad. In fact, this was the inevitable: as the exports of our breadstuffs, under the most favorable circumstances did not begin to pay the cost of our imports of fine wines, silks, broadcloth, laces, and other foreign manufactures of a costly character.

Such was the extent of our wealth, that these luxuries were in demand at a very early period of our history; and an article approximating their value, at least, was the one thing needful, with which to pay for them.

The pearl of great price, so devoutly desired, was found in cotton. There was then, and there has ever been a demand for it, at home and abroad. In consequence of the universal demand for it, it has proven itself to be the most profitable product of American soil, and has been



given such a royal reception, the world over that, in commercial parlance, "Cotton is King."

The introduction of cotton, completely revolutionized our agricultural system of labor, and changed the basis of Northern capital.

The artisan of the North who left the shop for the field, then left the field for the shop. The wages of the field-hand were so depreciated under the new system, that there was no temptation for him to leave his tools.

The Northern capitalist, finding that there were larger profits in the work-shop than in the field, he drew out of agriculture and invested in manufactory. And by an unholy alliance, free labor and capital took control of the factory. And in order to avoid any local interference which the presence of slave labor might occasion, the Northern people, who then owned slaves, used the South as the dumping ground for such labor. Thus, slavery was made the protege of the people in the South. In this way slave labor was corraled, the serpent of slavery was scotched, but not killed.

By thus, leaving the slave out in the cold, he was forced to work for his vituals, his clothes. He got a little log hut free of cost; and occasionally, he got nine and thirty at the same price. "King Cotton," the chief product of our soil and the staple of American manufacture, has contributed more to the comfort and happiness of mankind, and has enhanced the wealth of this nation, in a larger degree, than any other article within the range of human use; is the product of the man, who has ever been the object of such systematic persecution.

Mr. President: In view of these facts, stubborn though they be; and believing that the time had arrived, when the Freedman should become the architect of his own fortune, a number of gentlemen assembled in this city, during the spring of 1879, and determined to make a

united effort, to ameliorate the condition of freed labor in the old North State, by organizing the North Carolina Industrial Association.

Has the effort of this organization been in vain? I think not. For eight successive years it has continued the struggle for existence, in favor of both skilled and unskilled labor; and the righteous cause which it espoused, has turned the scales of justice in favor of its client.

To-day we behold the bread-winner, the wage-worker, whether skilled, or unskilled, standing side by side. One is the equal of the other; both are peers. One million of them are *Knights of Labor*. Organize! Organize!! Organize.!!!

Let us now review the history of the slave system of labor, and see whether either section was benefited by it.

Under the old regime, cotton was master of the situation. Not within the region of our boundless resources, was there to be found a product of such commercial value as that of cotton; with the possible exception of gold. It had a monopoly in the European market, and was the basis of exchange in furnishing our foreign supplies.

The profits derived from the sale of cotton, alone were so very large, that after deducting the salary of the overseer and a liberal percentage for transportation and commission, there was enough left over and above the cost of cultivation, to render it possible for the master to live in luxury and idleness. Such were the profits, derived from the products of slave labor.

Thus our manufacturing and mercantile interests were promoted. In this way, high wages and exorbitant interest were rendered possible in the north.

If the master-capitalist once had a right to such a large share of the profits derived from the production of slave labor, the slave having become his own master, has he not an equal right, to that share of the profits now? If not, why not? "Equality of rights, is the first of rights," is a



sentiment, that was once penned in my autograph album by the hand of that immortal statesman, of precious memory, Chas. Sumner. Upon this sentiment I base the claim of the emancipated laborer to an equal share of the profits derived from the products of his labor.

If he is required to furnish a title to his claim, in the language of that silver-tongued Hungarian, Kossuth, I say; "Look around," here is an exhibition of it; here is positive evidence of it; here is tangible proof of it. If not, why not?

## "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."

Now let us see what has been gained by organized opposition to enfranchised labor.

Labor organizations slambed the door of the work-shop in the face of freed labor, and the capitalist locked it and threw the key away. Thus our manufacturing career was inaugurated. Factories of every conceivable character, sprung up like mushrooms all over the north. And such was the energy of the artisan and the enterprise of the capitalist, that the most useful as well as the most useless articles were manufactured, all the way from a wooden nutmeg, to a saw-dusted sausage. Oleomargarine is the latest.

Naught save the harmonious hum of spindle, and concordant sound of steam could be heard in all that land. Prosperity crowned each with her laurels of reward, in the shape of high wages and extortionate interest.

The artisan thus struggled for existence,
While the capitalist, figured for subsistence.

In this way, the accumulated wealth of this nation, was centered in the north, and piled from earth to heaven.

To give you some conception of this fabulous accumu-

lation of wealth, I will take Massachusetts for instance :

In 1860, it was only worth $900,000,000; to-day it is worth nearly $3,000,000,000; doubled and thribbled its wealth, within the short space of twenty-five years.

The Vanderbuilt estate is valued at $200,000,000, the accumulation of father and son, within the short space of a life time. *The Washington Post* says :

> " Confidentially Jay Gould remarked a month ago
> " that, owing to ill health, he had 'closed up all
> " around' and had no speculative interest in stocks.
> " Since then his securities have jumped up in the
> " market, and it is estimated that he has made eight
> " or ten million dollars."

Here is a connundrum: If Jay Gould can make $10,000,000, in one month, while sick, how much could he make in the same length of time, if he was well ? I offer a premium of $10, for the answer. Don't all speak at once.

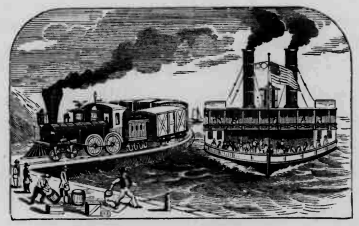
The Washington *Republic*, in comparing the millions of the A. T. Stewart estate with the fortunes of the Vanderbuilt, J. Gould, and others, says:

> " Heartless, selfish and grasping Stewart may have
> " been, * * * * * but he did
> " not seek to corrupt legislatures or the courts of
> " justice to further his ends. There is little danger
> " to be apprehended from fortunes made in this way,
> " compared with those made by wrecking railroads,
> " watering stock, buying and stealing charters, and
> " generally perverting powers of government from the
> " benefit of the many to the enriching of a few."

What next ?



Under such auspicious circumstances, the artisan and the capitalist " rapped the draperv of their couch about them, and laid down to pleasant dreams: —the lamb and the lion laid down together." Everything moved with mechanical precision for a long while. " The mills of the gods grind slowly," you know. Machinery gradually underminded the artisan by lessening the cost of labor ; and capital began to find large profits in the employment of pauper labor from the old world.



INTER-STATE COMMERCE.

These modern inovations aroused the artisan and provoked him to wrath. "Those whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."

Trades Unions were formed to prevent these assaults to the right of them, and assaults to the left of them. But instead of firing at the enemy in front of them, they turned to and attacked the innocent and inoffensive American apprentice back of them and actually refused to give our little boys a chance to become American mechanics.

" Revolutions never go backward," is an axiom which was never before more clearly demonstrated than in this case of the American apprentice.

That powerful American organization, which has sprung into existence, and like a mighty torrent is sweeping the barriers of injustice aside, recently resolved in convention

assembled, that the American youth should be admitted to the shop and factory, regardless of the loins whence he sprung.

That organization, which bids fair to become a potent element in shaping the destiny of this nation, is known as the "Knights of Labor."

By the increased power of machinery and additional force of foreign mechanics, our home market was deluged with manufactured goods. Production over-reached consumption, and stagnation in business followed. "Vaulting ambition, which o'er-leaps itself."

From our over stocked market arose a financial miasma, which created panics, crises, industrial depressions, and the like; and in this foul atmosphere, by which the busniess world was befogged, collisions between labor and capital occurred and such disturbance of business forces generated strikes, boycotts, labor riots, and the like. Commerce was thereby completely paralyzed. Thus, financial chaos was produced by the rivalry between the artisan and the capitalist, in their greed to carry off the lion's share of the profits, derived from the products, of manual labor.

The capitalist, as a matter of course, came out at the big end of the horn, and left the artisan clinging to the horns of the altar. This is the result of that unholy alliance.

"*There is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough, hew them as you will.*" The slave was not always an object of persecution, as many have supposed. He was the source of much solicitude in many respects. How to utilize his labor so as to lessen expenses, was a question which was seriously considered.

By Divine subtlety, if such an expression is not irreverent, it was determined that it would be cheaper, to teach him how to shoe a mule, than to pay the free mechanic a high price for such service. And as tickling



the fetlock of a mule is fraught with such dangerous consequences, fellow feeling might have had something to do with the slave becoming the blacksmith.

In order that the cost of house building might be reduced to the minimum, the slave was taught how to be a carpenter; and as a consequence he became an architect. Thus, stone and brick masons, bridge-builders, millwrights, shoe-makers, and mechanics of every trade, sprung from the corn-field and the cotton-patch, until the skilled labor of the South was performed, principally, by the detached labor from the plantation.

Pardon me for pausing here to say, these are the mechanics of a former generation. Where, oh! where are our mechanics of to-day?

We have young lawyers, we have young doctors, we have young preachers by the score. Have we any young mechanics?—echo answer, No.

To show you the ability and capacity displayed by this embryo mechanic in his workmanship, I will simply refer you to the recent letter of General Master-Workman Powderly on this subject, in which he avers, that such is the finishing touch which the freed mechanic of the South, puts upon his work, that "no human eye can detect

a difference, between the article manufactured by him and that of the Northern mechanic.

In the name of justice, and for the sake of peace, I ask, Is this a timely appeal to the conscience of Southern capitalists, in favor of the freed mechanic?

If Southern capitalists will heed such favorable comparisons and take advantage of the situation by employing the enfranchised mechanic *now*, it may save them the unprofitable expense of employing Pinkerton's detectives *to-morrow*, to protect their property from mob violence, such as Chicago, Cincinnati and other commercial centres have experienced.

> "The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
> Grapple to thy soul with hooks of steel."

Other labor may be preferable in the workshop now, to that heretofore employed. The capitalist has a perfect right to employ any labor that suits him. But should his property be jeopardized by reason of labor riots, such as have occurred in the trade centres of other sections, the defunct carpet-bagger will rise up and tell him:

> "Thou cans't not say I did it;
> Never shake thy gory locks at me."

Thus, you see, that the effect of such inhuman discrimination, as was made between the Southern producer and his Northern brother, has had a tendency to foment discord and strife between northern labor and capital; it has had a tendency to unite Southern labor and capital; and as a blessing in disguise, it has had a tendency to evolve, from our rude forefathers and from the crude elements of plantation life, an artisan with a touch so deft, that his workmanship cannot be distinguished, from that of the most artistic and scientific. "It is the counterfeit presentment of two brothers."



## LABOR VERSUS CAPITAL.

The motives which have actuated the Northern artisan and capitalist to disolve copartnership in many instances, is no cause of the Southern laborer. And although the cry from Macedonia: "Come and help us!" has been heard, I would admonish him to beware.

When in the midst of deep waters, the slave laborer cried aloud "Help Cæsar, or I perish!" the sound of his voice was lost in the air, laidened with the music of the spindle.

I have no better authority than the Rev. Washington Gladden, for the statement, that "the two classes at the North that were most unwilling to have the rights of slave labor" challenged, were the commercial class and the laboring class. And, as a reason for such an unreasonable disposition, he states, that "the first did not want to lose customers," which is an evidence of the value of southern trade; and "the others were *afraid* that if the slave laborer" was given his right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," there would be an exodus of such "labor, into the industries of the North." And that Reverend Brother pronounces benediction upon such inordinate greed and cowardly indifference in this language: "These two classes are suffering most to-day from the results of the war. It may be well for us all to read in this chapter of history, the lesson, that the way of the righteous is always the safest road in the end." If Reverend Gladden is correct in his published sermons entitled, "Working people and their Employers," then there is a remarkable difference, in the business man North, and the business man South. The one will—

> "Crook the pregnant hinges of the knee,
> Where thrift may follow fawning."

While the other "will bite the dust, before he will stoop to conquer."

The line of demarcation, drawn by God himself, between the two races on this continent, has never been a barrier to the material development of the South. I have seen others and so I have worked myself, side by, side, with my more favored fellow citizen. It is a matter of history, that bond and free, worked on the same house-top; in the same work-shop; upon the same bench; and at the same trade. From time immemorial, this has been a Southern custom.

Now, in view of the fact that this is an unwritten law, by which Southern labor ever has been governed, who would dare come in our midst and attempt to violate it, any sooner than they would our social customs? That is the question.

He who has the cheek to do so, is an enemy to my race, and a foe to the best interests of my native section.

Now in citing these facts as to the conduct of Northern business, I am not oblivious of the other fact, that to the philanthropy and christianity of the North, the entire South owes an everlasting debt of gratitude. Sooner would "I have my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and my right hand forget it's cunning," than to be an ingrate to such God-like generosity, as the good people of the North have displayed, not only toward our people collectively; but toward me individually. Therefore, I hope none who hear me will confound Northern charity with Northern business. I am talking business, and business *is* business you know.



## During the War and at the Surrender.

In 1860 property, south of Mason and Dixon's line, was valued at 6,110 millions of dollars: approximating the combined wealth of New England and the middle states; or about thirty-two per cent of the wealth of the United States. In 1865, the bulk of this vast accumulation of property had been literally destroyed.

BESOM OF DESTRUCTION.

Within a period of four years, a besom of destruction swept over this fair land, and there was not a hearth-stone within all this region, that was not left desolate.

By the god of War, every industry was paralyzed and artery of business severed.

The object of this reference, is not to discuss the cause of such a fatal stroke of misfortune, but simply to consider the effect, which has been produced by such dire calamity.

The South not only failed to derive any profits from the products of labor during the war; but it actually lost $2,430,000,000 of capital. Slave labor was the only element in our body politic, whose patience proved to be a virtue. Such were those "times which tried men's souls," that even Senator Vance, who was then Governor of this state, was forced to tell the authorities that, if the troops from other states were good, they should be happy; but if not, they would not have so nice a time on North Carolina soil.

None of the vexations which drove our jovial Governor to wrath, seemed to disturb the slave laborer. Like the anvil to the stroke he stood still, when capital and even authority had fled, and there were none left, save the helpless women and children—the sacred charge committed to his tender care and keeping. "Without money and without price," he provided for the widow and the orphan.

Though the occasion was opportune for treachery conspiracy and sedition, such evil propensities found no room in his heart. His mission was that of love for those who required of him priceless service. Damon and Pythias, never exhibited more sincere devotion to each other's interest, than did the slave laborer to the interest of his master-capitalist, who was away on the field of battle.

Humanity fails to furnish a parallel for such faithful service.

## AFTER THE WAR.

In 1865, a radical change in the Southern system of labor occurred. The laborer who had been compelled to do service from early morn 'til dewy eve, without recompence on reward, became a wage-worker. There was plenty of work to do, but unfortunately for him, as well as the former capitalist, there was no money with which to pay the laborer wages for his service.



This transition from slave labor to free labor was so stupendous and sudden, that the Northern capitalist came to the conclusion that, such would be the demoralization resulting from the social disorder thus occasioned, that the world's supply of cotton would be reduced at least one-half, as that is a little less than our quota of the world's supply. And in the event of such a crisis, the cotton factories of the North, would have suffered, not only by reason of a reduction in the supply, but by reason of an increase in price, which would have followed a great demand.

Hence, the Northern capitalist went in search of raw cotton elsewhere. He did not stop at that, but actually furnished seed to other countries, with the hope that he would be able to get enough cotton to supply the demand, without depending upon the "vagabonds," as Mr. F. P. Blair, designated freed labor, now upon "the bloated aristocracy," the sobriquet of the Southern capitalist.

In this attempt Northern capital met with a signal failure. There was no country in the world that could furnish such a quality and quantity of raw cotton, as this, our country.

Though our productive resources were buried beneath a fathomless debt, and upon that was piled mountain high the debris of a four years war, our people did not lose courage, nor stop to reason why; but contrary to prediction, they went to work. The freed laborer with his bare muscle and the capitalist with his unfenced land, was all the South had to begin life anew.

The condition of the laborer was misery personified. That of the capitalist has been so faithfully described, by the *News and Observer*, in its issue of October 16, last, that I adopt its language:

> "We emerged from the devastation and desolation
> "of the war, sorrowing for the dead, harassed by
> "perplexing questions of government, and bereft of

" all but the naked fields. We believe that, that
" minute and patient investigator, Edward Atkinson,
" has demonstrated to his satisfaction, that the entire
" accumulations of wealthy New England, with its
" palatial mansions, &c., are not sufficient to support
" the New Englanders one month in idleness When
" we consider how slightly ahead New England is of
" the wolf which is at every human door, notwith-
" standing her long period of uninterrupted money-
" getting and unparalleled prosperity, we need not
" be surprised at the slowness with which money has
" been accumulated by the Southerners, who began in
" 1865, with empty hands and bare fields."

Under such discouraging circumstances the enfranchised laborer and the disfranchised capitalist, cast their lots together, formed a copartnership and "went into business on their own hook." The laborer commenced to work on shares, and the hypothesis was, that there would be an equal division of the spoils. The laborer kept *his* part of the contract.

Mr. Blaine makes the following estimate of his contribution, to the revival of Southern industry.

"The value of the cotton exported from the
"Southern states since the close of the war, exceeds
" the value of all that was ever exported, from the



" time cotton was first planted in the South, up to the
" time of the inauguration of President Lincoln, by
" about one thousand million of dollars."

Now let impartial history, speak for the land-lord.

By the faithful service of the producer and the dilligent attention of commerce, "The Sweet Sunny South" has Phœnix like, arisen from her ashes, has regained three-fourths of her losses, and is a commercial competitor in the markets of the world; not only in her peculiar product —cotton—but in her cheap manufactures· the $60,000-000 revenue cotton tax, levied while she was in adversity, and the Freedman's Savings Bank episode, to the contrary, notwithstanding.

The South failed to carry slave labor on free soil; but her object has been accomplished by carrying the *products of cheap labor*, beyond the limits of the Missouri compromise.

Such has been the development of her diversified industries, that she is not only mistress of the situation in the growth of cotton, but she is rapidly becoming the rival of the North in manufactory. The western market now welcomes her goods.

Under the most adverse circumstances she has made such marvelous progress, as to disturb Northern labor and alarm Northern capital. Her advantage in resources and superior workmanship employed at nominal wages, renders it possible for her to under-sell the North in any commodity, which she duplicates.

Hence the hue and cry now raised about the unpaid labor of the South.

Poor wages in the South is better than no wages in the North, where the Freedman has never been tolerated as a mechanic.

If this new discovery of injustice done freed labor had been made before the present, he who pretends to advocate

its cause, would have appeared to much better advantage and been more consistent, than he does, when he is forced to make a humiliating acknowledgment, that the interest which he manifests in the freed laborer, is simply a matter of self preservation.

## A REBOUND.

Mr. Mulhall, in the *North American Review*, says, that in 1860 New England and the Middle States had 32 per cent. of the capital of this nation. Those states doubled and trebled their wealth, between 1860 and 1870. The decade ending with 1880 witnessed a decline in their accumulations of more than one-half.

The pendulum of fortune is swinging backward.

The scale of justice has been tipped, and the development of our latent resources, so varied and inexhaustible, renders it possible for the "Sweet Sunny South," to become the theatre of our future exploits, in the industrial world.

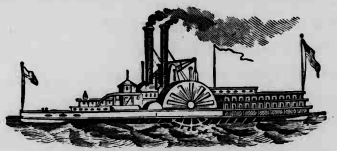
Already the tide of emigration has turned southward. The recent gathering of Northern residents in this city shows what has been and indicates what will be done in this direction. These people are active, industrious, thrifty, and economical. They are the pioneers of a civilization, which developes thought and requires action. Talk and leisure have no charms for them. Is the native workman equal to the emergency? is a question. Has he bone and sinew equal to the brain and muscle of his new competitor? has yet to be decided.

But, as the champion of the native workman, I do hereby give notice, that nothwithstanding the fact, that he enters the contest at a mental disadvantage, he is eager for the fray. He is disposed to do unto others, as he would have them do to him. All he asks is, an equal chance in the race of life. The survival of the fittest, is the pivot of his hopes. As the fatted calf is killed, don't



exclude him from the feast. Give him a fair and a square deal and the blessing of Jacob, will never become the heritage of his recreant brother, Esau.

## THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF.



FOREIGN COMMERCE

Mr. Blaine, whose ability in state craft none will question, insists that the prosperity which attended the manufacturing industries of the North, was due to the protection thrown around them in their infancy. This is without doubt a fact; as our high protective tariff, prevented foreign competition and created a home market for such products. Thus we find that protection was a good thing while there was a demand for our goods at home, or production was unequal to consumption. But as there is an end to all things, so it has been with the success of our manufacturing industries. When the supply over reached the demand, failure in business was the consequence. The protective tariff invented by commerce, "returned to plague the inventor."

*How can our languishing industries be revived?* is a question, which has puzzled the political economist, and furnished food for the statesman, of a thoughtful turn of mind. But alas! have we no Jeffersons, no Clays, no Websters, no Calhouns, no Sumners, to lead us out of our commercial adversities?

Toward the close of our last administration, a very desperate attempt was made to afford an outlet for our surplus manufactures, through a treaty with Spain; in

which it was stipulated, that certain agricultural products of the Spanish Antilles, should be admitted through our ports free of duty; provided, our manufactured products were accorded the same privilege in their passage through those Spanish ports. In this effort to foster our manufacturing industries, I discovered a home blow to our agricultural interest. I discovered that sugar, tobacco and other products, peculiar to Southern soil and climate were "put upon the list," and it was even argued that "they never would be missed"; because forsooth, the demand for them was greater than the supply. Such a proposition admits of various constructions. In the first place, if protection to our manufactures in their infancy, rendered a surplus possible, protection to our produce in its infancy, would eventually render it possible for the supply, to reach at least, the demand. In other words, if protection was a good thing for our manufactures in their infancy, why is it not equally as good, for our infant produce? Secondly, it shows, that there is a time when *Protection* ceases to be a virtue, *i. e.* so far as our manufactured products are concerned; and there is a time when *Free Trade* becomes a vice, so far as our agricultural products are concerned. In this instance: "Virtue itself of vice must pardon beg." Thirdly, it shows a disposition to revive our sluggish, overgrown manufacturing industries, at the expense of our struggling infant agricultural industries.

A recent interpretation, by this government, of the treaty obligations now existing between us and Spain, resulted in a proclamation by the President, restoring duties on imports, under the Spanish flag. By diplomatic negotiations, a suspension in its execution has been obtained. It is to be hoped however, that the finale will redound to the advantage of American agriculture. Whatever tends to promote American agriculture, tends to promote the chief industry in the South. And whatever promotes Southern industry, promotes the best interest of the laboring masses in the South. As seventy-five per cent. of the labor engaged in this section, work on the farm, the more jealously such domestic products, as are duplicated in Cuba and Porto Rico, are guarded from foreign competition in our home market; the higher will be the price of those products, and the better will be the wages of those who cultivate them. Therefore, any imposition of duties upon such Spanish produce, is as beneficial to the field-hand, as protection to our manufactures, is to the factory hand.



Mr President: In my opinion it is high time that "The Silent South" should begin to reap some of the vast benefits of this government, by appropriation as well as legislation. We have to bear our part of the burdens, why not give us our share of the benefits?

But recently, we celebrated an event, which will be an epoch in the progress of our shame, or a beacon light in the progress of our pride. Is "The Statue of Liberty Enlightening The World," the symbol of American liberty and enlightenment? Or is it a monumental fraud and deception when we take into consideration, the bondage and illiteracy in this country? This government made an appropriation for those festivities. Is it unconstitutional to appropriate a few million dollars, for the purpose of liberating and enlightening the toiling millions, whose ignorance, superstition and degradation has been a curse to this nation, since the foundation of this government?

The gentleman with whom I have the honor to divide time to-day, is one of the few doubled-hearted Americans, who comprehends the importance of such action, and proposes an appropriation of $77,000,000 for such a laudable purpose. The meed of praise for such a proposition belongs to a man whose name is the common property of every household in the South—the Hon. Henry W. Blair.

Mr. President: In conclusion allow me to say, that the Freedman has become a fixture to southern soil; the ef-

forts of the collonizationists, and exodusters to the contrary, notwithstanding. This is his home, the place of his nativity. He is here, and will live amid the splendor of his genious, die upon the alter of his achievements, and be buried in this land of flowers, savored with the ashes of his forefathers.

The devine injunction, "multiply and replenish the earth," was the decalogue of slavery. The code of morals handed down by that institution from generation, to generation, is still visible to the naked eye. And accordingly, Professor Gillam calculates, that in 1960, there will be (barring accidents) 96,000,000 Freedmen in the South.

The Professor says, that the time required for each race in the South to double its papulation is, in the ratio of twenty to thirty-five, in favor of the Freedman. His figures are pregnant with good results. At this rate, within seventy-three years, the increased production of Freedmen will over reach home consumption, and their will be a surplus of 34,285,714 which will constitute a majority on joint ballot. I hope stagnation in the business will not follow: as any disturbance between labor and capital in this sephere of activity, might so effect our commeacial relations, as to prevent us from reaching the astounding number of 192,000,000, which he has fixed for us in 1980.

Judge Turgee says: that in 1900, just thirteen years from now, the Freedman will have a majority in each of the states between Maryland and Texas.

Such vast numerical strength will count for naught, without wealth and education. Ignorance and poverty never did, and never will govern capital and intelligence, in the minority though they be; and I do not believe that God ever intended that they should. Therefore:

> "With warning hand I mark Time's rapid flight,
> From Life's glad morning to its solemn night.
> Yet through the dear God's love I also show
> There's light above me by the shade below."

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